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ABSTRACT

A Swedish study was conducted to examine how the experiences of work and leisure affect expectancy and valence in relation to interest in participating in adult education. A cross sectional sample of 945 persons with short previous formal education was interviewed. The results indicated the existence of an integrated relationship between work and leisure. With respect to social and "cultural" activities, the amount of activity during leisure time appeared to be positively related to work satisfaction. Furthermore, the satisfaction derived from leisure time activities was positively related to work satisfaction. The interest in adult education for the present job was positively related to work satisfaction. The opposite relationship was found between interest in adult education for a new job and work satisfaction. With respect to non-work-related adult education, the educational interest exhibited a neutral relationship to work satisfaction. It was concluded that parallel to the reforms in society aiming at removing obstacles which prevent people from taking part in adult education, necessary steps must be taken in order to eliminate the factors in the work role that shape the person's experiences and behavior during non-working time into powerlessness, resignation, and social isolation. (Author/JH)

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EXPERIENCES FROM WORK AND LEISURE RELATED TO ADULT EDUCATION

by

URBAN BERGSTEN

Paper presented at the Fifth Biennal Conference of the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development, Lund University, June 25-29, 1979.

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P R E F A C E

This report is a paper presented at the Fifth Biennal Conference of The International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development. The conference was held at tha University of Lund, Sweden, 25 - 29 June 1979.

The theme of the conference was Continuity and Discontinuity in Behavioral Development and the present paper fell under the topic of "Discontinuity between the worlds of school and of work and adult life".

The paper is based on a doctorial dissertation, Bergsten, Urban (1977), Adult Education in Relation to Work and Leisure, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

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ABSTRACT

EXPERIENCES FROM WORK AND LEISURE RELATED TO ADULT EDUCATION
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In spite of several adult educational reforms during the last decade the participation rate of adult education in Sweden by people with short previous formal education is not as high as desired. In order to better understand why this group of people do not participate in adult studies one can not view adult education as an isolated part of an individual's life.

The concepts of "expectancy" and "valence" borrowed from the field of work motivation formed the theoretical bases for the study.

The central issue was to study how the experiences of work and leisure affect expectancy and valence in relation to interest in participating in adult education.

In this cross-sectional study 945 persons with short previous formal education, half of each sex were interviewed. Three age-groups were represented, 28-32 years old, 42-46 years old and 56-60 years old.

The results point to an integrated relationship between work and leisure. With respect to social and "cultural" activities the amount of activity during leisure time appeared to be positively related to work satisfaction. Furthermore, the satisfaction derived from leisure time activities was positively related to work satisfaction.

The interest in adult education for the present job was positively related to work satisfaction. The opposite relationship was found between interest in adult education for a new job and work satisfaction. With respect to non-work-related adult education the educational interest exhibited a neutral relationship to work satisfaction.

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This study shows that parallel to the reforms in society aiming at removing abstacles which prevent people from taking part in adult education, necessary steps must be taken in order to eliminate the factors in the work role that shape the person's experiences and behavior during non-working time into powerlessness, resignation and social isolation.

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EXPERIENCES FROM WORK AND LEISURE RELATED TO ADULT EDUCATION

1 Background

Since the 1940's the educational system in Sweden has changed a great deal. The 1946 School Commission stressed the democratization of the Swedish school system as the most important goal (SOU 1948:27). This commission proposed that the 7-year folk school should be replaced by a 9-year compulsory school. The purpose was to decrease the differences in the qualifications for studies between different students by an extensive individualization.

The 1950's was a trial and testing decade when the different reforms were prepared.

The 1960's can be characterized as the decade of the many school reforms. Thus the 9-year compulsory school was introduced. The new upper secondary level comprehensive school was decided upon. In addition to this, higher education changed through new courses, entrance requirements and degrees.

All this reform work in the school system should be seen in the light of the governmental efforts to use education as an instrument to increase democratization and equality besides preparing the individual and society as a whole for future changes.

By a bill in 1967 (Prop 1967:85) adult education came into focus more than earlier and became one of several instruments for reaching important societal goals, among those increased equality. The purpose of the bill was to facilitate possibilities for each motivated individual to study on the level corresponding to grades 7-9 in the compulsory school and grades 10-12 in the upper secondary school.

A governmental bill in 1970 (Prop 1970:35) was an important step, since this was the first time the government directed all the resources at its disposal to people with short previous education. Steps were taken in order to reach those who were weakly motivated for studies.

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Since then the reforms in the field of adult education have aimed at making it easier for people with a short previous education to take part in education. Many governmental authorities and commissions have payed attention to the fact that this category of people experiences large obstacles to participate in adult education.

In the following some results will be presented from a study of adults with short previous education where experiences from work and leisure have been related to interest in adult education.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Expectancy/Valence

Most adult educational research has focused on descriptions of participants or comparisons between participants and non-participants in certain respects (Bergsten, Bromsjö and Rubenson, 1972). Few attempts have been made to understand why some people participate in adult education and why others do not. According to Boshier (1973) and Rubenson (1976) the absence of testable theories has crippled adult educational research for decades. This is true not only for participation in adult education but for social participation in general.

Due to the lack of theories in the field of adult education one must start from a wider frame of reference and use experiences from the behavioral sciences in general. Participation in adult education can then be seen as one of various forms of social participation, often directed to "achieving" something. One field of particular interest in this context is the field of motivation.

Rubenson (1976) made a comparison between different theories of motivation and concluded that cognitive theories are most adequate when trying to explain adult education participation. The two main decisive factors were the empirical support and the organismic model of man that the cognitive theories are based upon.

A number of cognitive theorists have based their work on Lewin's field theory (Vroom, 1964; Hackman and Porter, 1973; Lawler, 1973). All these motivation theories include a concept of expectancy and a concept of

valence. Expectancy is seen as a belief as to the probability that particular actions would lead to certain outcomes. Valence refers to the affective orientations toward particular outcomes. According to Vroom (1964) it is important to distinguish between the valence of an outcome to a person and its value to that person. Valence is related to the anticipated satisfaction from an outcome and value to the actual satisfaction it gives.

Rubenson (1976) has applied the expectancy/valence theory on the behavior "participation in adult education" as shown in Figure 1.

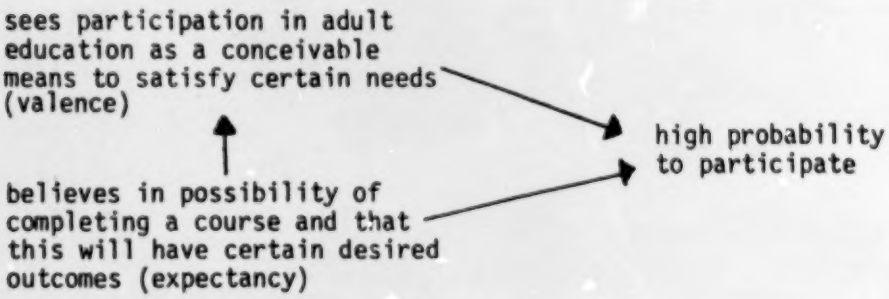
sees participation in adult education as a conceivable means to satisfy certain needs (valence)
high probability to participate
believes in possibility of completing a course and that this will have certain desired outcomes (expectancy)

Figure 1. The expectancy/valence theory applied to participation in adult education. (From Rubenson, 1976, p. 23.)

People who do not see participation in adult education as a means of satisfying certain needs and/or do not believe they have a possibility of completing the studies will probably not participate.

The sectors that fill most of an individual's life space are work and leisure. In accordance to the ahistorical approach of the expectancy/valence theory a better understanding of why certain people participate in adult education and others do not is obtained by focusing on their contemporary experiences and satisfaction in their work and leisure roles.

2.2 Work

One of the first theories about work motivation was presented by Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959). This theory makes a disticntion between two types of factors that affect the satisfaction of work. The

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first type of factors, the factors of hygiene, are associated with the conditions surrounding the doing of the job like supervision, interpersonal relations, physical working conditions, salary, company policies, benefits and job security. When these factors deteriorate to a level below that which the employee considers acceptable then dissatisfaction ensues.

Improvements in the factors of hygiene will serve to remove the impediments to positive job attitudes. They can influence the degree of dissatisfaction but have no relationships to the actual satisfaction in work.

The second type of factors, the motivators, are directly related to the work per se. Such factors are related to the type and the content of work, i.e. success, rewards, opportunities to use one's skill and capacity, responsibility and the opportunities for advancement and personal growth. These factors are related to the inner structure of work, and are therefore sometimes called intrinsic job factors.

These two types of factors motivate the individual in different ways. The factors of hygiene satisfy the needs of the individual in terms of avoiding unpleasant situations, while the motivators reward the individual and satisfy his needs of personal growth. The latter affect the "work motivation" dimension which can vary from absence of work motivation to good work motivation. In the same way the "dissatisfaction" dimension can vary from dissatisfaction to absence of dissatisfaction depending on the factors of hygiene.

Another way to express the distinction between these two types of factors is that motivators constitute the attracting elements in the work situation and the factors of hygiene the repelling elements (Gardell, 1967).

As a summary of many studies concerning work motivation and work satisfaction (Blauner, 1964; Thorsrud & Emery, 1969; Parker, 1971) I would like to quote Gardell (1976) who presents some common effects of work where the individual's possibilities to influence decisions, to use his full potential and to take responsibility and initiative are limited:

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(1) experiences such as monotony, social isolation and apathy

(2) active behavior such as complaints and irritation

(3) passive behavior such as resignation, indifference and uninterest

(4) social spin off effects such as lower life satisfaction, lower political and cultural activity

(5) effects on the individual's health and well-being such as lower self-confidence, anxiety and psychosomatic disturbances. (Translated from Gardell, 1976, p. 70.)

2.3 Work - Leisure

There exists three main models of the relationship between work and leisure: (1) the compensatory (2) the integrated and (3) the neutral model.

The compensatory model

The adherents of the compensatory model maintain that people's lives are split into different sectors. The different sectors and areas of activity are, according to these segmentalists, lived out more or less independently. According to this view a creative and varying leisure can compensate for a monotonous, strenuous work.

The integrated model

In the integrated model experiences and feelings from work will affect leisure. Other terms like "extension theory", "spillover leisure hypothesis" and "holistic relationship" can be found for this view.

The neutral model

The neutral model means that people are neither so involved in their work that it influences their leisure nor so dissatisfied in their work role that they try to compensate during leisure time for what

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they are lacking in work. The neutral model implies leisure activities which are generally different from work but not deliberately so. There exists an average demarcation of the two spheres.

The results from reviewed studies, overwhelmingly support the integrated relationship between work and leisure (Wilensky, 1960; Havighurst, 1961; Dumazedier & Latouche, 1962; Lundahl, 1971; Meissner, 1971; Westlander, 1976). Certain qualitative aspects of work are obviously decisive for the experience of leisure.

The first two specific hypotheses of the present study are based on this "spillover leisure hypothesis".

H_1: The degree of activity during leisure time is positively related to work satisfaction.

H_2: The satisfaction derived from leisure time activities is positively related to work satisfaction.

2.4 Work- Adult education

In previous studies, the relationship between work and interest in adult education has been found to be integrated, compensatory or neutral.

Most of these studies have viewed adult education as a homogeneous concept without distinguishing some main functions of different types of adult education (Johnstone & Rivera, 1965; LeClair, 1969; Bradley, 1970, 1972; Lundahl, 1971; Rubenson, 1972; Westlander, 1976). This may be one explanation why the results have not been unanimous.

Based on this previous research the relationship between work and interest in different types of adult education can be outlined as in Figure 2.

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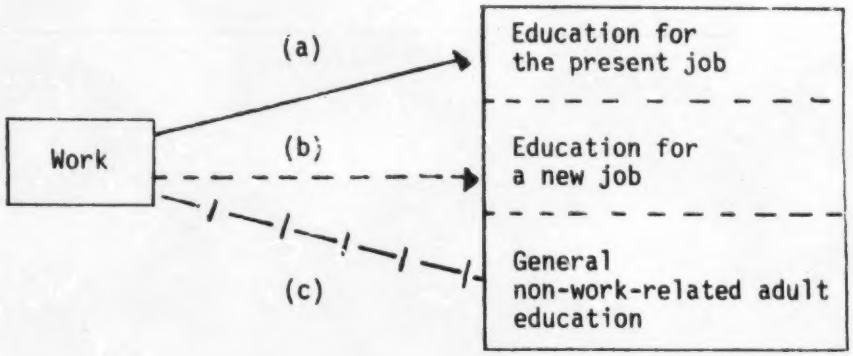

Figure 2. Possible relationships between work and interest in different types of adult education, (a) integrated, (b) compensatory and (c) neutral.

Based on these assumptions the following three hypotheses were formulated:

H_3: The interest in adult education for the present job is positively related to work satisfaction.

H_4: The interest in adult education for a new job is negatively related to work satisfaction.

H_5: The interest in non-work-related adult education exhibits a neutral relationship with work satisfaction.

2.5 Leisure - Adult education

In most studies the relationship between leisure and adult education has been observed within heterogeneous samples as to educational background. The studies reviewed all show that educative behavior is associated with a leisure pattern characterized by broad leisure interests, cultural activities and organizational participation (Ingham, 1963; London, Wenkert & Hagstrom, 1963; Knox, 1970). The last hypothesis in this study is assuming that even within a group of people with short previous education this relationship between leisure and adult educational interest is at hand.

H_6: The interest in adult education for the present job and in non-work-related adult education can be seen as a part of a leisure pattern consisting of "cultural" activities and active membership in organizations.

3 Method

The general purpose of this investigation was to study whether and in what way interest in participating in adult education is related to experiences at work and in leisure time among a group of adults with short previous education. Usually in official documents in Sweden this has implied an educational background consisting of compulsory school of six, seven or eight years. Most young people in Sweden today get an upper secondary education of two or three years on top of the nine year compulsory schooling. In relation to their own age group people with only a compulsory schooling as educational background will in the future be included in the group with short previous formal education. The sample in this study was drawn from the population of individuals with an educational background of nine years compulsory school or shorter.

Six municipalities in Sweden were chosen. They differed with regard to size of population, population density, geographical location, commercial and industrial life.

The gross sample was for economical reasons limited to 1080 individuals, half of each sex. Furthermore, the sample consisted of three age groups 28-32 years old, 42-46 years old and 56-60 years old. Behind the choice of these age groups were assumptions about important stages in the life cycle (Bühler, 1953, 1961; Erikson, 1963, 1968 and Havighurst, 1956, 1974). Within each geographical area six strata were chosen, one for each age group and sex. From each stratum 30 individuals were randomly sampled.

On the basis of two pilot studies it was decided that the method for data collection would be structured interviews. The interview consisted of 109 questions covering the following main aspects of the respondent:

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(1) previous and present family situation
(2) work
(3) leisure
(4) previous participation in adult education
(5) attitude to and preferences concerning adult education
(6) obstacles for recruitment and
(7) knowledge about adult education.

Interviewers from the National Central Bureau of Statistics carried out the interviews. 90 per cent of the net sample or 945 persons were interviewed. The analyses indicated that no differences as to response rate existed between the three age groups or men and women.

4 Results

The hypotheses were tested by the chi^2-test. All differences mentioned in the following were significant on the .05 level

4.1 Work and Leisure

In order to estimate work satisfaction, the respondents were confronted with ten specific aspects of work. On the basis of Herzberg's two-factor theory (Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman, 1959) six of these aspects could be classified as motivators and the other four were labelled factors of hygiene.

In order to map out how leisure was perceived, the respondents were confronted with five qualitative aspects, and twelve quantitative aspects.

When leisure satisfaction was seen in relation to leisure activity, it appeared as if the quantitative and the qualitative aspects went together. To be active in a certain aspect was related to satisfaction. This seemed to be the case especially for the so called "cultural activities" (books, exhibitions, concerts, theaters, museums and library) and "social activities" (organization attendence and visiting friends).

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In relation to work satisfaction, differences in the leisure activity pattern were found for "cultural" and " social" activities. Larger proportions of those experiencing high work satisfaction were active pursuers, compared to those reporting low work satisfaction. Thus the first hypothesis was partly confirmed. Thus activities that involve a certain amount of planning and coordination are more often pursued when the satisfaction of work is high.

For the total sample the analyses showed that larger proportions of those who experienced high work satisfaction also reported high leisure satisfaction, compared to those experiencing low work satisfaction. These differences were found both with respect to the motivators and the factors of hygiene. Thus the second hypothesis was confirmed.

In most previous studies where the relationship between work and leisure has been examined and where an integrated relationship between the two roles has been found, the sample has been heterogeneous as to educational background and socioeconomic status (Dumazedier, 1960; Wilensky, 1960; Havighurst, 1961; and Parker, 1971). In the present study it has been found that even within a relatively homogeneous group there are indications of an integrated relationship between work and leisure.

4.2 Interest in Adult Education

A large majority, almost 80 per cent of the respondents, were interested in learning more in various interest areas. Most of them wanted to do this in some type of adult education program.

It was mainly in the present work role and in the leisure role that the educational interest originated. In addition the interest in adult education for the role as a citizen and as a parent was considerable. Generally the respondents were interested in short unpretentious programs. For six out of seven interest areas the educational interest was higher among the younger respondents compared to the older. Furthermore, the interest in instrumental adult education decreased more in the older age group compared with more expressive types of adult education.

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The three hypotheses concerning the relationship between work satisfaction and interest in adult education were partly confirmed. For almost all aspects of work larger proportions of those satisfied were interested in adult education compared to those not satisfied. (H_3: The interest in adult education for the present job is positively related to work satisfaction).

The fourth hypothesis, which postulated a negative relationship between work satisfaction and the interest in adult education for a new job, was confirmed in six cases out of ten (H_4: The interest in adult education for a new job is negatively related to work satisfaction).

The interest in non-work-related adult education ("leisure", "parent", "citizen", "personal development" and "other") showed almost throughout a neutral relationship with work satisfaction which was assumed in the fifth hypothesis (H_5: The interest in non-work-related adult education exhibits a neutral relationship with work satisfaction).

Finally when the interest in adult education was examined in relation to the leisure role, it was found that larger proportions of those who already devoted themselves to "cultural" activities (books, museums, concerts, exhibitions, theaters) were interested in adult education for the present job and in non-work-related adult education. This was also the case for the respondents who were active members in some organization or club. Thus educational interest can be seen as a part of a leisure pattern already consisting of "cultural" activities and high organizational activity.

5 Discussion

These results point to the importance of how the work role is perceived in relation to the leisure role and other out-of-work roles of an individual. Thus an individual's behavior and perceived needs can not be fully understood without having the work role in mind. The results from this study concerning the relationship between work and leisure, support the integrated model and show that leisure in many cases is

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an extension of work. A passive and a monotonous leisure is often associated with a passive and monotonous work.

This implies that in order to get a richer and more active leisure, measures can not be taken exclusively in the sector dealing with leisure. Reforms are necessary in fields connected to work. Changes in the occupational life must aim at diminishing or rather eliminating factors in the work role that affect the person's experiences and behavior during non-working-time toward powerlessness, resignation and social isolation.

With respect to an educative behavior through which new knowledge is sought, Seeman (1967) has emphasized that there is a relationship between the type of alienation he calls powerlessness and the proneness to acquire knowledge in control-relevant areas. Johansson (1970) writes about this in the low-income investigation:

> The smaller possibilities the individual perceives he has to influence his own fate, the smaller is his propensity to attain such knowledge that would make it easier for him to control his own conditions of life. (Translated from Johansson, 1970, p. 38.)

The necessary reforms in the work life have to affect not only the shaping of the production processes but also the content of work. The work tasks must to a larger extent than today involve possibilities to influence decisions and take responsibility. The worker ought to perceive his work as meaningful and perceive the relationship between his tasks and the overall production.

Generally these results show that there are large groups of presumtive adult students among people with short previous formal education. This is especially true with respect to the occupational sector. In order to recruit these groups it is necessary to make changes both in the actual programs and the process of recruitment. The programs and the courses must to a larger extent be based on the actual needs the people experiences in their various adult roles, the work role, the leisure role, the role as a citizen and as a parent. This implies that the courses must be more problem-oriented.

Dalin (1975) asks if society today really develops positive or negative conditions for learning. He himself sees two opposite tendencies. At the same time as adult education programs are developed and extended and the information about the possibilities to study is intensified, the centralization of control in the labor market also increases. At the same time as larger and more complex units are established the single worker often gets less and less influence, less responsibility and thus less preparedness for an active and stimulating existence. This is according to Dalin an example of when measures undertaken in one sector can neutralize measures undertaken in another. At the same time as the companies and the employers talk about the needs of qualified and trained employees they create negative conditions for learning.

Within each social situation, including adult education participation, there are certain rules that the individual has to master. If the rules are unknown because they are not normally part of the individual's reality, he will avoid that specific situation (Bourdieu, 1974). Therefore education directed at a certain category in society must be built on rules and values familiar to that category. With this approach the phenomenon of non-participation in adult studies is much more than a problem of information. It has more character of a conflict of subcultures or an incongruence of different value systems.

The necessity of working with organizations important to the presumtive participant in the recruitment process is mentioned by Brunner (1959). He refers to a study by Houle who showed that individual recruitment to adult education programs was less effective compared to a recruitment based on the value system of a group essential to the individual. In this last case the group can be a factor of security for a hesitant individual who perceives participation in adult education as threatning.

This study has shown in accordance with many other studies that participation in adult education is not a single event but rather a recurrent behavior. This fact stresses the importance of really recruiting the groups in society not yet reached by adult education. There is an apparent risk that a future system of recurrent education will rather increase the educational gaps in society, unless the people who are difficult to reach really are recruited.

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